AS AMERICA REMEMBERS

INDIRA GANDHI



"India is important to the United States and the United States is important to India, and I think that's why we are together now; and that's why, in spite of differences that may crop up from time to time, the relationship is a lasting one...."

INDIRA GANDHI Washington, D.C., July 1982



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi walking in the rain in front of the famous Hirschhorn Museum, Washington, D.C., July 1982. Holding the umbrella for her is Charles Blitzer of the Smithsonian Institution.

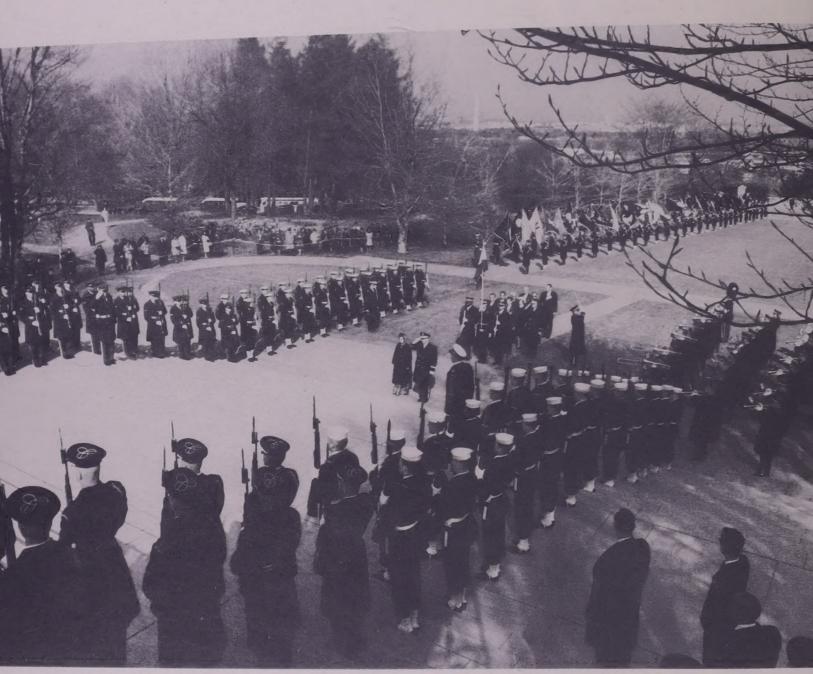


Much has been written and said about Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in these last months, including a great deal in the United States. The exact measure of her success of course can best be gauged by future historians. But what is clear from the reactions in our country is that contemporary Americans have been greatly impressed by her. And those Americans who were fortunate to meet her and to know her were even more impressed by this remarkably gifted person. In this small commemorative booklet we present in words and pictures some of the feelings and the images of how America remembers Indira Gandhi. The people who have recorded their sentiments are among the leading Americans of today, and they observed the late Prime Minister a little more closely than the average citizen. Some, like her, had a hand in guiding the destiny of their nation. Others are former U.S. Ambassadors to India. Still others represent science, the arts and movements for social change. Though these Americans speak for themselves, their words reflect the feelings of many, many more Americans about this remarkable individual.

HARRY G. BARNES, JR. U.S. Ambassador to India



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with U.S. Ambassador Harry G. Barnes, Jr., New Delhi, May 1984.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington, Virginia, March 1966.

the brutal assassination earlier today of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of the Republic of India. The beople of the United States join me in extending our leepest sympathy and condolences to the people of India and the Prime Minister's family as they mourn Mrs. Gandhi's death.

As Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy and Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership. Her letermined efforts to promote peace, security and conomic development in South Asia and throughout the world will serve as a constant reminder of Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to protect the shared values of democratic nations.

RONALD REAGAN

President of the United States



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with President Ronald Reagan, White House, July 1982.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with Vice President George Bush, New Delhi, May 1984.

TN remembrance of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi: As I I think back upon my last series of meetings with Prime Minister Gandhi in New Delhi in May, I am immediately reminded of her gracious hospitality toward Barbara and me. I arrived in India hoping to contribute to the dialogue between our two countries, initiated at Cancun in 1981 by the Prime Minister and President Reagan and successfully continued during her visit to the United States in 1982 and her meeting again with the President at the United Nations in New York in 1983. Our talks were cordial and frank and I believe correctly illustrated the desire on both sides to promote the continued improvement of our relations. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will be remembered as a world statesperson who was totally committed to the development of her country and the improvement of the welfare of its people. During her Washington visit, she was a guest in my residence as I was in hers in New Delhi. I will miss her presence on the world stage.

GEORGE BUSH
U.S. Vice President



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is greeted by Secretary of State Dean Rusk at the Washington Monument Grounds, March 1966. In the background is the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with Secretary of State George Shultz at the Waldorf Astoria, New York, August 1982.

This is a sad occasion for India, for the United States, and for men and women of good will throughout the world. Indira Gandhi symbolized India: she spoke for India's commitment to a human democracy, to a better life for all the people of India, and for peace and justice among all people. She won the respect of all, not the least that of my fellow Americans, as a good and wise leader. Thus she earned well her position as a world citizen of the first rank. We may be assured that her place in the history of our times is secure as it is secure in the hearts of her people....

Your new Prime Minister has spoken of his mother's "dream of a united, peaceful and prosperous India." He has called on his countrymen to complete her unfinished work. We know that the people of India will meet this

challenge.

Our two lands, the United States and India, have a firm and enduring relationship, one that is based on our common democratic heritage, our long history of a rewarding association, our rich web of personal ties, our shared interest in an ever-expanding mutual support and cooperation. The United States strongly supports the independence, unity and territorial integrity of India and recognizes its pivotal role in the region. We share the important goals of peace and stability both in South Asia and over all the globe. We look forward to working closely, productively and in the highest of mutual regard with the new government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. We will do so as we did with the government of his great and distinguished mother to whom our thoughts turn so strongly, so warmly on this tragic day.

GEORGE SHULTZ
U.S. Secretary of State



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with John D. Rockefeller III (right) enroute to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, New York, March 1966.



Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith at the dedication of Rihand Dam, U.P., January 1963.

Facing page: Mrs. Gandhi with an American Indian woman of the Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, November 1960.

In these last weeks thousands of lines have been written of Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, politician, world leader. I am tempted, as anyone in our time must be, to add to this tribute. But instead let me say a word or two about Indira Gandhi as a friend.

We were friends, and for nearly 30 years. We first met on what was still the early morning of Indian independence in 1956. Then we talked of the Indian world in the making; of politics, planning, economic development, our own ambitions and affairs. I especially remember one meeting which also included John Strachey, the English writer and political leader, when we talked nearly all night on the lawn of the house of the Indian Statistical Institute on King George's Avenue in New Delhi. No economic or political problem of the emerging Indian economy and polity was left unsolved. On other occasions and later when I became Ambassador, we met for casual conversation and the enjoyments of personal exchange. She and my wife Catherine Galbraith also became friends; occasionally on returning to our bungalow on Ratendon Road, I would find Indira there. We would settle down for a further talk.

Indira Gandhi had an alert, probing, independent mind, a capacity for precise, apt and sometimes unsparing comment, criticism and characterization and, with friends, a deep but engaging sense of humor. I have always been attracted by the rich opportunity in public life and diplomacy for celebrating the absurd. It was a pleasure we shared. I rejoiced in her shrewd comments on Indian and American politics. On occasion, we went back to our earlier years in England, she at Oxford, I at Cambridge. And we turned, sometimes with my wife, to matters concerning family life. Our last encounter was in March of 1982, when I was in New Delhi to give the Rajaji lectures, and we joined her for lunch. It was a quiet family meal; we did not that day tackle the great problems of the world; on leaving, I asked her, as we walked to our cars, how she was surviving under the great tasks she had assumed. She said that, on occasion, she found herself a bit tired but that she could not doubt that it was more interesting than being out of office. We parted with the promise of more such meetings; alas, it was not to be.





Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New Delhi, March 1973.

I suppose it is only natural that we treasure the personal moments we have shared with great public figures, but this is especially so with Indira Gandhi. And why? Because she was so very personal and thoughtful in those few moments of privacy which her great life allowed.

My time as Ambassador to India came to an end in January 1975, and we had the great honor of being asked to a small, private supper in the Prime Minister's residence. It has been said that punctuality is the courtesy of kings: certainly it was a courtesy of Indira Gandhi.

We had no sooner arrived in her sitting room than she swept in with her hand extended in greeting. But before she even crossed the room, she saw the dress my wife was wearing and exclaimed: "That's a Kulu shawl. I've heard you do that." She was right on both accounts. My wife's dress was made from one of those wonderful wool shawls, with a geometric pattern, that they weave in the Kulu valley. And Liz had been doing such things—she tends to make her own clothes—since arriving in India and discovering its treasured fabrics. But how could the Prime Minister know that? Most wouldn't. Indira Gandhi did.

A month or so later, I was back in the United States and received the nicest possible letter from her. I returned home by way of Hong Kong and Beijing. The Chinese Foreign Minister—who, I later learned, was a member of the Gang of Four—was interested, or at least willing, to hear my view on the importance of the Sino-Indian friendship. Enroute to the capital, I stopped in Hong Kong, where I spoke to the press club on this subject, stressing the importance of India in world affairs. My remarks were duly noted in the Hong Kong press, and somehow made their way back to New Delhi.

Such scraps of information would never be noticed by most heads of government, or, if noticed, surely not commented upon. But Indira Gandhi noticed and wrote to thank me: an altogether unnecessary courtesy. Also a revealing one. It is so rare, she wrote, to read something nice about India in the foreign press. She was not that wrong, you know. I wish she could have read what was written about her once she was gone.





Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Dorothy Norman, Dallas, Texas, November 1960.

CTOBER-November 1984: The assassination of Indira Gandhi: Shocked and saddened by the shattering news, I am moved by an overriding desire to pay tribute to her. From the time we first met in 1949, we developed a close, personal relationship. Our repeated encounters in India, Europe and the U.S. were invariably warm, and exceptional for me. Simply to contemplate the gigantic tasks undertaken by that fragile, lonely yet dauntless figure, is formidable. Her mounting responsibilities made her grow over the years. My deep sense of bereavement is but a fragment of what must be felt by the other millions whose lives she touched. Indira Gandhi possessed natural gifts and had massive, complex experience—the latter often painful. I honor a distinctive, searching and fearless human being, whose underlying goal was to keep a democratic India united and at peace.

DOROTHY NORMAN
Writer and photographer



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D.C. July 1982

Overleaf: Prime Minister Gandhi addressing members of the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., July 1982







Left: Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Dr. Jonas Salk, New Delhi, January 1977.

Right: Mrs. Gandhi at the Children's Hospital, Washington, D.C., November 1961.

I FIRST met Indira Gandhi in 1977 on the occasion of my receiving the Nehru Award for International Understanding. She was visibly troubled then, shortly before the announcement of the elections that were to remove her from office temporarily.

We met again when she visited the United States and on each of my several, subsequent visits to India, the last in March of 1984 when we had three long conversations. Not only did I come to appreciate her greatness as a leader of India and as a world leader but her deeply personal and human concerns for her family, for the people of India, and especially for children.

Hers was personal power and not merely political power. Her strength against the forces of disruption and destruction, both personal and political, could be sensed only in the intimacy of friendship and trust. The most intolerable to endure were the lies, whether personally or politically motivated or through ignorance, that created the misunderstanding and distrust against which there could be no defense. That she was able to maintain her vision for India and the world and to continue to make the sacrifices to continue to serve, and the supreme sacrifice is a measure of her greatness.

Now that she has been torn away and is lost as an active presence she will be appreciated by friend and foe alike. She was a woman of extraordinary gifts of human understanding, of courage, and of determination to heal a troubled country and a troubled world, had she had the opportunity to do so. As we had planned the last time we had met, she would have initiated talks between a few heads of state and concerned world thinkers to approach the future as if the arms race in due course will be over, and that there will be a future for which to plan. If Indira Gandhi could have been measured by what she had in mind to accomplish, in addition to what she had already achieved, we would then have an appreciation of the loss to India and to the world by the arbitrary act that ended her life prematurely.





Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Washington, D.C., November 1971.

Facing Page: Indira Gandhi, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Eleanor Roosevelt and Jawaharlal Nehru at Hyde Park, New York, October 1949. I FIRST met Indira Gandhi in 1959 when my husband and I visited Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at his official residence. At the time, Indira was serving as a very warm and gracious hostess. As we spoke, I became increasingly impressed with her exceptional intelligence and commitment. It was clear even then that she had much to offer her country.

The next time I met her, 10 years later, she was the Prime Minister of the world's second most populous nation. A strong, courageous and fearless woman, Mrs. Gandhi provided distinguished leadership to the teeming millions of her country for nearly two decades. She waged an arduous struggle to bring greater enlightenment to India through programs that would reduce poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and ignorance.

I have lost a personal friend and the world has lost a great leader, a brave and articulate champion of justice and self-determination whose shining example proves that women are prepared to govern even the largest of nations. It is to her everlasting credit that India has remained the world's largest, stable democracy. Her life and work will inspire future generations of women leaders and her martyrdom will be redemptive.

MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Widow of the slain civil rights leader



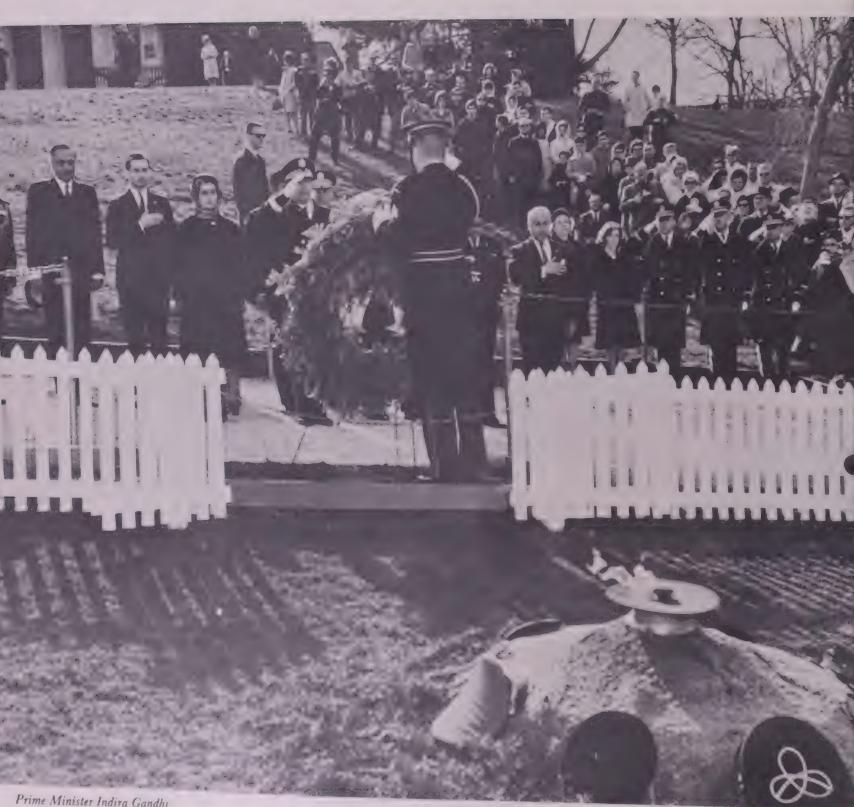


Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with former Senator Edmund Muskie, New Delhi, February 1983.

Facing page: Mrs. Indira Gandhi with President John F. Kennedy, White House, March 1962. It was my privilege to visit Indira Gandhi at the invitation of her Government to participate in India's celebration of Franklin Roosevelt's centennial year. I prayed with her in a chill, gray January dawn at the Mahatma Gandhi memorial on the 35th anniversary of his assassination. I found her to be a thoughtful woman of quiet force and a good listener. She believed that governing India required strong but flexible leadership. She had remarkable political instincts which enabled her to hold India together. In the end the diversity and tensions of her country's teeming hundreds of millions exploded in her untimely death. It remains to be seen whether the impact of her life and her death will be a unifying or a divisive influence on India's future.

EDMUND MUSKIE Former U.S. Senator and Secretary of State





Prime Minister Indira Gandhi places a wreath at the grave of John F. Kennedy, Arlington, Virginia, March 1966

I was never fortunate enough to meet personally with Indira Gandhi, but the ties between our two families led me to think of her as a friend. My mother, Lillian Carter, served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Vikhroli, India, and through her I came to feel a special relationship with the people of India and their leader, Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi was a gracious hostess to my mother and to my son, Chip, when they visited India in 1977. She was a world leader of great significance.

JIMMY CARTER
39th President of the United States



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with Mrs. Lillian Carter, New Delhi, February 1977.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with Thomas O'Neill, Washington, D.C., July 1982.

T was with great shock that I heard of the tragic assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. I welcomed her to the House of Representatives in July of 1982, and I was impressed with Mrs. Gandhi's plans for her nation and her desire to improve relations between India and the United States.

Her tragic death is a tremendous loss to her nation and a blow to the supporters of peace and democracy throughout the world.

THOMAS O'NEILL Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives





Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a group of teachers from the University of California, Neu Delhi, September 1972



Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Ambassador John Sherman Cooper. Washington, D.C., November 1971.

The residence of her father, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, which I visited often during my stay in India in 1955—1956. When Mrs. Gandhi was present, she did not talk much and always had the attitude of deep devotion to her father. In the years that have passed, I saw her on several trips to India and saw her last during her visit to the United States in 1982. In these talks with her, she always expressed in a calm way her pride in the independent position of India and the ancient culture of India, and her conviction that it was a great country.

As everyone knows, she became known throughout the world. Her death is a grievous tragedy for her family, the people of India, and millions throughout the world. There has always been a reservoir of affection between millions of people in the United States and the people of India, sharing the common experience of independence and democratic values.

I believe in India, its people, and that it will rise above the sad tragedy, and go forward to its great destiny.

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER Former U.S. Ambassador to India and U.S. Senator



Indira Gandhi with Dr. Albert Einstein, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vijayalakshmi Pandit at Princeton, New Jersey, November 1949.



"I trust there will always be a touch of spring in Indo-American relations, and...friendship and good will...will ever blossom in profusion and brilliance."

INDIRA GANDHI Washington, D.C., March 1966

Editors: MOHAMMED REYAZUDDIN AND JACQUELYN S. PORTH

Designers: GOPI GAJWANI WITH GOPAL MEHRA
Production Supervisors: OMBIGA GUPTA AND SOM SAPRU

Coordinator: MIRIAM CARAVELLA

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